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423 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land from the Todas. The sib of the upkitjo: (Rivers' Pam; for details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:qo: and melga:qo: lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pasturages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti-dairies), one of the ka:qo: sib, the other of the mō:qo: sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:qo: sib were sold to Government and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold when the sib of the ka:qo: were in need of a large sum of money to settle parkume's liability in the suicide of nōrnma. In general,

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578 worse was, to begin with, ever brought to my notice by my informants.
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When, however, I delved more deeply into the matter, I soon found out that appearances were very deceptive, and that under a peaceful exterior, many serious acts of aggression had taken and were still taking place. Personal feuds of intense hatred and jealousy, especially among the older men, seemed to be the reasons for what were not just empty accusations of witchcraft, but unmistakably crimes, and I gathered so much evidence of this that I have come to think that there are very few influential old Todas who die a natural death. They are more usually done away with by their rivals, through the time-honoured method of having them poisoned by the Kurumbas, mainly, I think, with *datura*.

578 Thus Karnoz of Melgarsh (45), whom I got to know very well, was
682 greatly feared as a *pili* (sorcerer). When I returned to the Nilgiris for
754 the second time in 1949, I found that he had reputedly done away
115 with Ujar (48), my old and trusted informant, his uncle and chief of
662 the Melgarsh *modol*, simply because he wished to take his place at the head of the clan. He had had him poisoned by his "own" Kurumbas, as it was put to me, after having first got the deceased's wife and two children out of the way in the same manner. The remaining members of the murdered man's family had fled in terror to Kakhwurkh *mad* and their house stood empty and forlorn at Melgarsh when I came back there in 1949. Karnoz was fined Rs. 12 by the *noim* for this crime and warned that, if he persisted in practising sorcery, his house would be set on fire, and he himself killed.

683 While working with the widow of Kuriolv (52), whom Rivers describes
623 in such eloquent terms (see *The Todas*, pp. 351-2), my wife discovered that, after having rid himself of rivals and wives alike by the habitual Toda method of indirect poisoning through the agency of the Kurumbas, he was himself murdered in the same way by his wife. He ended his life practically at the same time as his rival and victim Arjgur (56) who, in a neighbouring house at Kuur, died from the effects of the poison which he, Kuriolv, had himself administered to him.

648 During my second stay in the Nilgiris in 1949, Piliar (52) poisoned Tödhen of Apersgor because he had had a son by a woman whom Piliar had given up, believing her to be barren. The deed was committed by a Kurumba in Piliar's pay who gave the poison with some milk to Tödhen at a funeral which I attended. I later tried to get the ailing man to hospital in Ootacamund in order to look better into his case as well as to try to save him, but to no avail. I came up against

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die.

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3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown - it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed.

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Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotën, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above).

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Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamat of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütpimi* was, however, performed for

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601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
 123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
 [843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the
 child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of
 what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this
 unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
 [164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I
 took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they
 could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
 [578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
 • [682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52)
 with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
 614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various
 fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*,
 the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These
 names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but
 also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classi-
 fied as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fa-
 thers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of
 all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother.
 Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Peru-
 daia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family,
 of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because
 he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
 [595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuö, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations
 could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classi-
 ficatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to
 distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of
 polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule
 of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyan-
 drous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of
 personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe,
 the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if
 a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is
 thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is
 only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he
 has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a
 separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had